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THIS IS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
For special features to mark the event, see pp. 6 and 7

THE LAWYER'S PASSPORT FIGHT

Powell case forces open whole U.S.-China split

THE SEDITION proceedings against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman in San Francisco continued to probe the sore-spots of U.S. policy, foreign and domestic. Already at issue in the case are U.S. conduct of the Korean "police action," the question of germ warfare, the fundamental guarantees of free press and free travel. Last week the whole field of U.S. relations with China was before Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman, and the State Dept. had been forced to list its reasons for refusing to recognize the Chinese government.

The Powells and Schuman were editors of the English-language **China Monthly Review** published in Shanghai until 1953. The government has charged that articles published in the **Review** hurt U.S. morale during the Korean fighting because they were critical of U.S. policy there and because they detailed charges of germ warfare. The Justice Dept. moved against the three under a 1917 sedition statute which jailed hundreds in the post-World War I red scare. Trial has been set tentatively for April 15.

MARKED "NOT VALID": The government will seek to prove that the stories were false and spread deliberately to aid the "enemy." To counter those charges defense attorneys A. L. Wirin and Doris Brin Walker asked for and won the right to go to China to gather depositions from some 50 witnesses willing to testify concerning germ warfare and other matters reported in the **Review.** Judge Goodman ruled that the government should pay the attorneys' expenses plus $12 per diem.

Wirin has a passport but it is marked "Not Valid for China." When the State Dept. refused to validate his passport for China travel Judge Goodman issued an order designating Wirin as an "officer of the Court" and ordering him to go to Hong Kong, leave his passport there and continue to China. At the same time he served notice that no U.S. authority shall punish him in any way on his return.

HOLD AND HIT: Wirin had made arrangements to leave on Jan. 26 but word had come that if he was to travel as an "officer of the court" Chinese authorities would demand a passport. On Jan. 25 Wirin and Mrs. Walker were back in Judge Goodman's court again to ask that the State Dept. be ordered to validate his passport. Mrs. Walker said she had received a radiogram from a Peking official, Tang Ming Chow, indicating that without a passport the attorneys could not cross the Chinese border.

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UNITED NATIONS

Risky U.S. policy spreads fear of Mideast explosion

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE RISKY and provocative character of the U.S.'s new "Middle East Doctrine," which plants U.S. atomic bases "under the noses of other nations" (as a U.S. Information Agency official put it recently), is causing growing concern at UN headquarters where attention is focused on what many feel to be the "explosive" situation in the Middle East.

The concern is shared, to some extent, by the American people. This is suggested by: (1) the fact that Congressional mail is running 9 to 1 against the doctrine (N.Y. Times, 2/1); (2) the fact that letters-to-the-editor in the daily press frequently echo the fear expressed by the USIA official quoted above (see p. 5, col. 1) that the doctrine "may lead us beyond the brink into atomic war"; (3) the skepticism of Congress, which expressed itself by a leisurely debate (it took 25 days to win approval in the House, 355 to 61), and in a Senate decision for a broad investigation of Middle East policy back to 1946.

SIGNIFICANT CHANGE: The Middle East Doctrine, however vague as to policy, represents a significant change from the tendency in Washington, a few short months ago, to accept the U.S.S.R. as a power in the Middle East and, in some Administration quarters, to negotiate for neutralizing the area. The doctrine appears to be based squarely on the determination to curb and ultimately eliminate Soviet influence in the Middle East and to reverse the developments there toward neutralism.

This is, at best, a highly risky business, as UN observers see it, and the risk seems to be underscored by a number of coincident developments. They include:

● The annual war drums sounded on presentation of the military budget. These ranged from reports of Soviet jets over Canada (a variation on the "Soviet subs off our coasts" of other years) to the Symington Report on U.S. Air Power, an alarmist picture of the alleged "deterioration" of U.S. power relative to Soviet air power. (The Democratic majority of the Senate Armed Services Committee, which drew up this report, is headed by Missouri's Stuart Symington, a spokesman for the aviation interests. The Republican minority report took a calmer view.)

● The beginning of a broad overhaul of U.S. and NATO military establishments designed to gear both to "revolutionary new weapons."

EMPHASIS ON ATOM: The outlines of this development were suggested by the military budget which appeared to rule out manpower reductions envisaged some months earlier. There was overwhelming emphasis on increased use of tactical

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Herblock in Washington Post
"I shot an arrow into the air. . . ."

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MORE ARRESTS PREDICTED

3 indicted in N. Y. in new 'spy' case

JACK AND MYRA SOBLE and Jacob Albam, three who came to the U.S. as refugees from the Nazis, last week faced a six-count indictment on a charge of conspiracy to transmit U.S. defense secrets to the Soviet Union. Since the alleged conspiracy continued up to last August the three came under the provisions of the 1954 law providing a possible death penalty for espionage in peacetime. The special Federal grand jury which handed down the indictment on Feb. 4 continued deliberating on espionage matters and further indictments were forecast.

According to the government story presented to the grand jury, the three had been shadowed for years, the Sobles for more than a decade, until they were taken from their homes in Manhattan at 7 a.m. on Jan. 25. All three are being held for lack of $100,000 bail each.

THE ACTS CHARGED: The government account was lurid but undetailed. Businessman Soble was depicted, as the N.Y. **Daily News** reported, as "a professional spymaster in the Hitchcock tradition who slipped easily from country to country—until the government froze his passport two years ago." After Soble's arrest his son Lawrence, 17, said the loss of his father's passport had crippled his business. Soble at one time had an interest in a bristle factory in France and was connected with a Quebec brush company in Canada, owned by his brother-in-law.

Among the "overt" acts in the conspiracy cited in the indictment are Mrs. Soble's entry into the U.S. in 1953 and Soble's in 1954. The other "overt" acts charged against Soble are:

● On Nov. 25, 1947, he visited Essex House in New York and on Dec. 1 delivered a paper to an unnamed "individual."

● On Aug. 23, 1948, in a Geneva restaurant he met Alexander M. Korotkov who the government says was a lieu-

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NOTICE

This month a large class of subscriptions fall due, and carry a red address label. If your address label reads February '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.

- **To renew for one year mail address label with $3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Bigger stick

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With the advent of Theodore Roosevelt and his foreign policy of the "Big Stick," wholesale U.S. interference with foreign quarrels and disturbances began. With Truman and now Eisenhower, advocacy of American interventionism and adventurism abroad has become a huge vested interest benefitting the few at the expense of the many. The Eisenhower budget now before Congress calls for the enormous sum of $45 billion for military purposes and for a blank check to spend $400 million in the Middle East. This makes it crystal clear that the costs of this interventionism and adventurism abroad will keep on mounting with the taxpayers having to foot the bills. What a future!

A. D.

Hep,hep!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I see Dulles has a vacuum to fill. We'd better watch out or it will be "Hep, hep" over the Brink and into that vacuum for all of us! **Maurice Becker**

Asks closer scrutiny

SEATTLE, WASH.

Anna Louise Strong's assertion that "We who have seen socialism as the end to men's problems must also make amends," is not supported by anything in her article, nor by anything that I am aware of. It is obvious that the early stages of socialism are no picnic, especially with constant harassment from the capitalist powers and bureaucratic bungling at home.

It is not true that "the Hungarian tragedy destroyed socialism as 'man's dream'." I think it is true that all who are interested in socialism must be aware that bureaucracy is one of the greatest enemies to be fought. Socialists must also be more aware of the importance of such "pork chop" issues as adequate and comfortable housing, good food, and a pleasant family and social life for all the people.

I think that a close scrutiny of just exactly what went on inside Hungary since 1945 is needed so that we may learn the valuable lessons that must be there.

L. H.

•

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Anna Louise Strong's "Hungarian Tragedy" is a masterpiece. How can we reach the American people with it?

Matilda Hoffman

Other worries

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

In 1936, the progressive government of Spain was crushed by the combined military forces of Mussolini and Hitler, who placed their friend, Franco, to rule over Spain. A sprinkling of volunteers who understood the danger tried to help the Spaniards, but none of the Western powers rendered any help and so later they themselves fell prey to the Axis. Another Hitler ally, Horthy, escaped from Hungary when the country was liberated by the Soviet army. Horthy found asylum in Spain, but recently attempted a comeback with the help of the "Free Europe Committee," recruits from West Germany, "Voice of America," etc. Only this time little Hungary had a friend: the Soviet army, stationed in the country by the Warsaw agreement. So let us not worry about Hungary; Spain, Guatemala and Egypt are the countries I am worrying about. **M. R.**

Socialist duty

LAKE GROVE, N.Y.

The Hungarian proletariat did not start building socialism upon the comparatively solid foundation of a clear political victory over their capitalist class and its allies. Instead their efforts were initiated by a military defeat of their country on the battlefields of the Second World War. This military defeat did not fundamentally shake the ideological forces of capitalism in the country. So outside prodding and financing against the communist government found the anti-socialist and pro-capitalist counter-revolutionary forces of the country relatively strong and unimpaired.

Of course I do not and could not contend that our Hungarian socialist comrades have made no mistakes. They obviously failed to try seriously to win co-operation for the building of Socialism from wide masses who should have been their natural allies. For these mistakes they are now forced to pay a heavy price.

However, I do contend that when the blood-thirsty forces of Horthyism and of the Hacken-Kreuz did break loose, it became their socialist duty to fight for the life of socialism in Hungary, as well as for their own lives. And the least our Hungarian comrades could expect from the socialist masses the world over is a sympathetic understanding.

The question involved in this struggle is not political democracy. The issue simply and clearly is: a capitalist or a Socialist Hungary.

Max Bedacht

Question for questioners

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

To those of the Left who condemned the Red Army intervention in Hungary I have some questions:

- If there was a fascist danger, how would a clerical-fascist state in the heart of Eastern Europe have helped the cause of socialism?
- If there wasn't a fascist danger, why did the Soviet troops find it necessary to suppress the uprising? Were they not on the spot and well able to judge the danger?
- Why do your views so closely parallel the views of the avowed enemies of socialism?
- Assume you had been a citizen of Hungary and had to choose which side of the barricades to be on: would you have fought against the Soviet Union?

James Erickson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

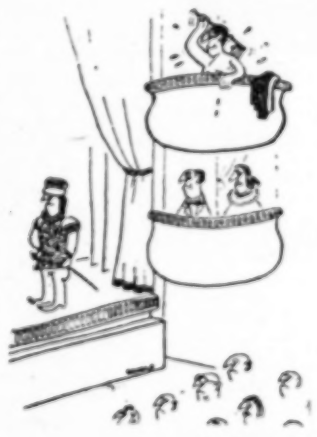
Help Wanted—Female

GIRLS WITH DOCTORATES

FABULOUS FLAMINGO HOTEL IN LAS VEGAS STAGING LAVISH PRODUCTIONS BUILT AROUND 16 GIRLS HOLDING DOCTORATES IN ANY SUBJECT FROM ACCREDITED UNIVERSITIES. NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH CHORUS GIRLS. THESE PRODUCTIONS ALL IN EXCELLENT TASTE, BUILT AROUND GIRLS TO BE KNOWN AS THE HI PHI BETAS. SLIGHT DANCING ABILITY NECESSARY AND GOOD LOOKS TOO. ALREADY HAVE 2 PhD'S, 1 DR. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, 1 DR. OF PHYSICS AND 2 DR'S OF HOME ECONOMICS. GIRLS WITH ONLY MASTERS DEGREES NOT ACCEPTABLE. FOR INFORMATION PLEASE CALL JACK TALAN, PL 3-2929.

N.Y. Times, Jan. 29

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under the heading. Winner this week: J. Davidson, Long Island City, N.Y. Be sure to send original clip with each entry.



Vie Nuove, Rome

Tall timber

RUMNEY DEPOT, N. H.

Do you know that I'm the author of the Bill Haywood song, **Are They Going to Hang My Papa?** You don't. You weren't around then. I've been here longer than anybody—87 next candle-snuffing time.

I'm getting over my broken neck, fractured skull, seven broken ribs, compound fracture of the left leg and crushed right shoulder, done when one of these trailer trucks ran me down, demolishing my car, leaving me for dead—and breaking my bank account along with the rest.

Frederick Forrest Berry

Pay your board bill

BEMIDJI, MINN.

I am a farmer who takes some pains to read a number of publications, from the New York **Times** to a couple of socialist periodicals I am disappointed at the lack of clarity among all of these publications on the farm question.

A couple of the socialist publications seem to agree with the Times and Ezra Benson that big scale corporation farming is inevitable. They have no ideas for helping hard-pressed farmers right now, other than to proclaim that things will be better under socialism. They oppose rigid parity a 100% which most small—and middle—sized farmers want as a first step and by implication they seem to agree with Ezra Benson's flexible parity.

Some of these progressives who oppose 100% of parity argue that it will help a few big farmers too much. Perhaps, it will help a few big farmers; but it will also help 4 or 5 million small farmers. The argument for lower farm prices as a way of cutting income of a few big corporation farms is like calling for a 20% wage cut on all wages and salaries in order to cut income to corporation executives. No sense to it!

A nation that can afford to pay fancy prices for automobiles, TV sets and everything else, can also afford to pay its board bill in full to the farmers who raise the raw food. **D. F.**

Chick Rolph

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Enclosed $21 as a memorial to Henry A. (Chick) Rolph, who died in the regional Veterans' Hospital here Dec. 16. Chick Rolph was born in Fox Port, Ky., in 1893. Brought by parents to Idaho at age 9, he worked first as cowpoke and bronco-buster in Idaho and Utah before going to work as logger, the line he followed most of his life. As IWW delegate he traveled and organized all over the Western States, taking time off to serve in the Navy during World War I.

Chick was one of the local founders of the Progressive Party and was one of its leading lights during its brief career here. Until his final illness forced him to request release, he was chairman of the Utah Council for Constitutional Liberties. Chick had led or faithfully supported every liberal and progressive cause, and had been a friend and reader of the liberal and forward-looking press, including the GUARDIAN, for years.

Friends of Chick Rolph

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REPORT TO READERS

All mothers!

A YEAR AGO at Lausanne, Switzerland, a Permanent Intl. Committee of Mothers was set up by representatives from 38 countries, for disarmament and the defense of children against war. Since then the Committee has expanded to include 44 countries.

Last month delegates from ten of these countries visited the United Nations to present to all delegates a Declaration of Mothers. The visitors have had little publicity, yet the GUARDIAN has had many inquiries about the Declaration and where people might communicate with the Committee of Mothers.

Here is as generous an excerpting of the Declaration as space here will permit:

"ALL MOTHERS, all women, know from experience what terrible sufferings war brings to their families: misery, poverty, the destruction of homes and of millions of promising lives. In the course of the last war, some 40 million children were made orphans.

"Today, although the cause of peace has made some progress, the peril of war still threatens the world. Our children are exposed to even more frightful dangers because of the weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear warfare threatens even the unborn child and the future of the race. . . .

"As mothers, we have the duty to demand the end of this threat and we have the right to be heard. Our first responsibility is the defense of human life. . . .

"The wealth and energies of the peoples of the world, were it not for preparations for war, could be set free to feed the hungry, to build homes for our families, to increase and enrich the education of our children; to enable industry, science and art to be used for peaceful purposes and to make possible a life of happiness for all.

"War endangers not only the body but the mind of every individual in the society that prepares for it. Children's minds are warped by fear and hatred, through corrupting literature, through programs of violence in cinema, radio and television.

"WE ARE DETERMINED that this pollution of young minds by the glorification of war shall cease. We want our children to be educated in the principles of truth, love and justice, and that those who have the responsibility of their education in the school and in the family shall receive due honor, respect and reward.

"We mothers call upon all statesmen and all peoples of the world to observe the spirit of the United Nations Charter, to abolish all military pacts which threaten peace, and to renounce the instrument of war as a means of settling disputes.

"WE DEMAND general, progressive, substantial and simultaneous disarmament, essential to remove the immediate danger of war.

"We demand, pending the prohibition of atomic weapons and complete disarmament, that all governments sign a Convention not to use weapons of mass destruction, and that they at once cease from experiments with nuclear weapons. . . .

"We demand that the dignity of mothers, so often the inspiration of the artist and poet, shall be fully respected in our society, and that the views and wishes of women be given due weight in all places where decisions on the present and the future of mankind are made."

The Permanent Committee may be addressed c/o Dora Russell, 18 Manor Mansions, London N.W. 3, England.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE FROM DUBLIN

The issues and the background on the troubles in Eire

By Cedric Belfrage

DUBLIN

ON THE 7TH ANNIVERSARY of the plebiscite in which 95% of Greek Cypriots voted for union with Greece, British Tories clinging to their last colonial bastions were up to their old tricks again. Proposing their "Radcliffe plan" to stall off self-determination indefinitely, they had threatened to partition the island for the "security" of its former occupiers' Turkish descendants. In Cyprus, British troops strove by means of curfews, searches, mass detentions and "terrorist" man-hunts to cope with a swelling wave of resistance.

In London, Left Labour MP's hammered home to 1,500 demonstrating Cypriots the deadly warning of partitioned Ireland, now again the scene of violence born of despair. Just as the great Irish patriot and socialist James Connolly prophesied ten years before it was introduced, partition had "perpetuated in a form aggravated in evil the discords now prevalent . . . made division more intense and confusion of ideas and parties more confounded."

RAW STATISTICS: In a visitor to this lovely land which England pillaged and crucified for 3½ centuries before amputating it, confusion struggles for dominance with shame as he digs for the background to the new upsurge of gun-and-bomb politics. But part of the story of partition is very simple.

In earlier years the Eire government did much to rebuild slums and create new industries, but it has almost come to a dead stop; now trade deficits grow year by year and capital flows steadily out for investment abroad. With a total of more than 700,000 emigrants since partition, emigration has reached its highest point since 1811 and Eire—the 26 counties—contains 66,000 fewer people than in 1951. Even the dairy cattle have declined in numbers as compared with a century ago. As the youth of Ireland are drained away, two-thirds of today's primitively-equipped farmers are over 64 years of age. Yet despite the emigrant tide, unemployment has reached the 100,000 mark and is still soaring.

Such are the raw statistics behind the "I.R.A. raids" world-headlined since December 12: the jailing of Southern die-

PARTITION WON'T WORK HERE
A Turkish auxiliary policeman, helping the British burden carriers, prods a Greek pedestrian to move along in a street in Cyprus. Cyprus is no nearer a solution than Algeria or Ireland—and the violence goes on.

DUBLIN, CYPRUS, ALGERIA—THE "MASTERS" NEVER LEARN
French officers armed with rifles patrolled the approaches to the "native" quarter of Algiers during the general strike last week. An ominous silence prevailed, shattered at the end of the week by new violence, on the eve of the United Nations discussion of the Algerian question. France insists that Algeria is a question for her alone to solve. But she seems farther from a solution than ever.

hards for unity—for "failing to account for their movements" and "possessing documents"—by courts which they denounce as "doing the English Queen's work", and of Northern nationalists without charge or trial.

POPULAR SYMPATHY: What do the people of Ireland think about the illegal groups who have resumed the "direct action" of yesterday's Irish Republican Army heroes? The mother of an I.R.A. man now in Dublin's Mountjoy Prison for three months expresses one side of it when she says: "Everybody seems proud of them. It's their delight to be able to do something for Ireland." The neighbors, whatever their politics, cannot indeed do enough for the fatherless family. Government leaders and Roman Catholic bishops who dare not throw the book at I.R.A. men express it in another way when, in condemning violence, they hedge on it as "not at present desirable", or name England as the chief criminal, or insist that "we all want to see the Tricolor flying proudly over Belfast."

At the point of sympathy for the "freedom fighters"—a name oddly borrowed from another context—popular agreement ends. These "idealists," as everyone calls them, are mostly young men driven by a frustration all can understand, as all understand the implacable ardor of such an I.R.A. veteran (now in Mountjoy) as Tomàs MacCurtain, who saw his father murdered by the English and himself spent seven years in solitary. There is the traditional warm feeling for anyone in jail (never having been "lifted" is practically fatal to any Irish aspirant for leadership).

MIXED EMOTIONS: The argument that Ireland never won an inch of freedom save by fighting for it weighs heavily, and such peaceful alternatives as anyone can suggest look remote or unpractical. Yet sober-minded workers, retired "old I.R.A." veterans and labor leaders, who should have an ear close to the ground, insist that the "freedom fighters" have no mass support. Pleasure at seeing Ireland's grievances forced back into the headlines is diluted by fear that the I.R.A.'s—in view of all the hostilities and bigotries bred by the English and nurtured by partition—may bring about worse evils than they aspire to cure.

The view generally expressed to me is that the "campaigns" of the two raider groups operating from the 26 counties are already more or less smashed; and that the police—inheritors of the Royal Irish Constabulary's skill in the use of spies and informers—could lay their hands on almost every member whenever they chose. These are the groups that have been raising funds from Irish circles in the U.S., and, it is said, have been disputing over the money and competing to "show results" to impatient donors. I was told that the most potent remaining force is the Fianna Uladh, organized in pockets in rural nationalist areas of the North and raising funds from local supporters.

To Fianna Uladh goes credit for the recent "knocking up" of the Dungannon (Tyrone) barracks, a strictly local operation on which even the most anti-I.R.A. Irishmen shower warm praise for its "split-second timing and beautiful organization—the police haven't a clue." Since this was one of the planned operations in a seized I.R.A. document read in court the day before it was carried out, the Northern Ireland occupiers' security measures seem little better than those of the I.R.A., some of whose top leaders were nabbed with documents at what was apparently an army council meeting without any look-out posted.

TROUBLE INSIDE: On the "freedom fighters'" internal disputes and difficulties, information is as lavishly available as it is hard to check. Many doubt whether there is any operational liaison between the three groups. If in fact their differences have remained fairly serious ever since I.R.A. ceased to be legal, this may have been inevitable in view of the assorted elements involved—from pro-Franco Catholics and those favoring bombs in English letter-boxes to genuine progressives.

The "I.R.A. boys" who have recently been making anti-Semitic phone calls to Dublin Jews were probably provocateurs, but may not have been. Dangerously empty political demagoguery is rampant in the Sinn Fein (pro-I.R.A.) party if one can judge from its meeting outside the Bank of Ireland, which I attended with some 1,500 young patriots and Dublin curiosity-seekers. It ended with a call to cheer "our boys" and boo "the politicians." (A Northern nationalist who was present remarked that "Dublin politicians" is the way the Fianna Uladh refers to the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein.)

TWO VIEWS: A wise and sensitive "old I.R.A." man, whom one could hardly picture performing the gunman's deeds that made him a national hero years ago, suggested to me that while the direction of the present I.R.A. leaders is unprogressive, to some extent they are playing a progressive role without knowing it. They are doing so insofar as they are helping move Ireland out of the world imperialist camp, although most of the older leaders never understood its role in that camp and most of the new blood are too young to have discovered it.

This man was depressed by all the confusions cluttering Ireland's political landscape; but another "old I.R.A." leader and hero—white-haired, fierce-blue-eyed, golden of tongue after the tradition of his country's poets and story-tellers—scoffed at any such notion. "There is no confusion at all," he said. "It's perfectly simple. The English have got to go." To him the I.R.A. leaders' political complexion is of no importance: pushing the English out has a progressive social content in itself.

HAZY FUTURE: What chance have the "freedom fighters" of pushing the English out? Is it correct to think, as many of them do, that because force was partially successful before it is the only workable method in the changed world of today? The I.R.A.'s more thoughtful element recognizes—as was stated in a seized document read in court—that for its "guerrilla campaign" across the border "the co-operation of the [Northern] people is essential. If this is lost—or never received—we cannot win."

The I.R.A. paper **United Irishman**—freely on sale here although the editors were jailed after the last issue—banner-headlines "REVOLT IN THE NORTH" and depicts the South's "freedom fighters" as merely giving the rebels an assist from over the border.

Primed in quiet Dublin with views about the "freedom fighters" ranging from "saints and martyrs" to "a greater menace than fascism"—but all spoken together with expressions of utmost sympathy for their liberating ideals—I am going north to see the revolt. In one thing at least I leave without confusion. Tragic Ireland can give the Cypriots all the lessons they need about partition.

Justice in Spain today

The following letter appeared in the Manchester Guardian *in England on Dec. 29, 1956.*

Sir,—You have more than once printed news of the repeated amnesties offered by the Spanish dictator to the Spanish exiles. We, the Spanish exiles, knew that these so-called amnesties had turned out to be but traps in too many cases. But even we did not suspect that the regime would sink as low as it has done in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Beneyto.

Don Ricardo Beneyto Sopena was residing as an exile in North Africa with his wife and two small daughters. He had remained loyal to the Republic during the Civil War. Taking at face value the repeated offers of amnesty made by the regime, he recently returned to Spain of his own accord. Though his case as a "rebel" (against the rebels) had been closed years earlier, it was reopened, and, on the strength that the tank force he had commanded during the Civil War had caused twenty dead, he was sentenced to death.

Two Spanish bishops, a number of Italian members of Parliament, the Italian Senate, representatives of the French Resistance groups which had counted him as one of the staunch friends in Africa, the Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens, M. Gaston Tissier, president of the Christian International, and Monsignor Marella, Papal Nuncio in Paris, intervened according to my information in one way or another to ask for clemency and for justice. There seems to be neither clemency nor justice in Spain today. Lieutenant-Colonel Beneyto was shot on November 19.

Yours &c.,
SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

Reform Club, Pall Mall, London S.W. 1.

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTION

The people of Poland voted for Gomulka and for socialism

POLAND'S national elections on Jan. 20 brought a turnout of nearly 95% of the electorate and the return of all but one of the candidates of the United Workers (Communist) Party. On the face of it, this was a remarkable victory for the government and party led by Wladislaw Gomulka.

Yet even the more objective Western press reports gave an almost exclusively "anti-Soviet"—and sometimes even "anti-socialist"—explanation of the election returns. These interpretations seemed to take on substance with reports of a continuing bitter struggle between a pro-Gomulka and a so-called "Stalinist" anti-Gomulka faction within the Workers Party, and with assertions that the election-eve visit to Poland of China's Premier Chou En-lai was necessary to "keep Gomulka in line."

To this reporter who spent a month in Poland last summer, and has talked with Polish officials and newspapermen here, the picture looks somewhat different.

Last summer in Poland it seemed obvious that, for all the grumbling over high prices, shortages and inefficiencies, and for all the anti-Russian feeling prevalent, especially among intellectuals, the people supported the socialist system and wanted no return to the old order.

WHAT THE VOTE WAS: The elections bear out this conclusion. For the vote was, first of all, a vote for socialism, and a vote for Poland's remaining within the socialist grouping of nations. Gomulka, from the very beginning of his return to power, had underscored two principles—that Poland must (1) stick to its alliance with the U.S.S.R., and (2) follow the road to socialism. In voting for Gomulka, the people knew precisely what they were voting for.

The fact that the Catholic Church threw its full weight behind the government provides additional evidence of the popular support for socialism. The Catholic hierarchy in Poland is cool-headed and realistic. It understood that in order not to weaken its position in the nation it must take account both of this support and of the fact that Gomulka's success was necessary to guarantee Poland's future.

The Church's backing of Gomulka played a decisive part in defeating those reactionary groups which sought to profit from the enormous changes since last October. These groups, seeking to turn back the clock, used the great changes then taking place to launch an argument for the return of the bourgeois system. Socialism has collapsed, the argument went, hence we must return to capitalism. The Church's stand practically eliminated the power of these groupings, at least for the time being.

GOMULKA'S POSITION: The picture of Poland as a country in revolt against socialism and against cooperation with the Soviet Union is therefore hardly accurate. Anti-Russian feeling there certainly was and is. This is partly traditional—a legacy of Polish history—and partly, the inevitable result of the tendency to blame the U.S.S.R. for the mistakes of the past. But—in contrast to last summer, when such feeling was permitted to flourish unopposed—Gomulka has energetically fought it.

Nor was Chou En-lai's visit needed "to keep Gomulka in line." Gomulka has consistently stressed that Poland's goal can only be achieved in union with the socialist family of nations and acknowledged that within that family, the U.S.S.R. holds the position of "first among equals." But, as Poles here point out, there are many ways of "keeping in line." What appears to have been under discussion between the Polish and Chinese leaders were broad ideological, philosophical, political and economic questions. The talks probably stressed the great anxiety felt in all the socialist states in view of Hungary—that nothing should happen to weaken Poland's ties with the U.S.S.R.

WLADISLAW GOMULKA
He made his position clear

THE DIFFERENCES: Ideological discussions are also going on within the United Workers Party—as they were last summer. It is important to note, however, that Gomulka's program was unanimously accepted by the Party. The final program adopted by its Central Committee's 8th Plenum last October differed in details, but not in principles, from the views expressed by Gomulka. The fact that different approaches, as for example on agricultural policy, are now being expressed and debated in articles and letters should not, Poles here maintain, be blown-up into an internecine struggle or potential party split.

This sort of exchange represents a healthy discussion. There are, of course, party members who are grumbling and dissatisfied about their own future. These are the considerable number who have been, or will be, dismissed from the overloaded party apparatus (although not from the party). But the party as a whole remains united behind its and Gomulka's program; its position with the people has been helped by its frank admission of the mistakes of the past and its quick steps to correct them. It is now greatly strengthened by the overwhelming defeat suffered by all those outside and inside the party who hoped to oppose Gomulka.

POLAND IN THE FUTURE: The Poland which has emerged from the October Revolution, now confirmed by the national elections, is a Poland whose internal policy will now develop less in terms of the rigid orthodox lines of the past and more in terms of Polish traditions, the country's real economic possibilities and the people's needs.

In foreign policy, Poland will remain firmly within the socialist world but will try to establish closer relations—especially economic—with the West. It has already established closer economic ties with France and is in process of doing so with the United Kingdom. The basis for these new ties lies in increased exports and imports and of credits for delivery of goods Poland needs. On the way are economic negotiations with the U.S., looking toward closer economic cooperation on the basis of credits for delivery of U.S. surplus farm goods and all kinds of machinery.

Poland, in the words of one Polish official, "is trying to choose for itself an internal policy and a foreign policy best suited to the people, who have been rather dissatisfied with progress up to now. In this resolve, the national face of Poland should come out much more clearly than it has in the past."

—Tabitha Petran

New 'spy' case

(Continued from Page 1)

tenant of Lavrenti P. Beria, then a Soviet Deputy Premier, later executed. The two allegedly met again at the Parc Beau Rivage in Lausanne, Switzerland, four days later.

- On June 16, 1949, he gave unspecified "papers" to an "individual" in Paris. On July 6 of that year in Vienna he was given an envelope containing U.S. money by a man named Vitaly Genadievich Tcherniawski.
- On or about Feb. 1, 1950, he met three highly-placed Russians in a Moscow apartment. Eleven days later he met Tcherniawski again in the Cafe Mozart, Vienna.
- On May 9, 1951, he and Mrs. Soble met an unidentified person in Zurich.
- On Aug. 5, 1952, he met another person, unidentified in the indictment, at 59th St. and Sixth Av., New York.
- On or about March 3, 1953, Soviet Embassy clerk Vassili Molev, who was ordered by the State Dept. to leave for "espionage activities" shortly after Soble's arrest, was said to have received from an unnamed individual a communication prepared by Soble. This allegedly took place in Howie's Restaurant, Sixth Av. near 53rd St. Molev allegedly called himself Ivan.
- On or about July 6, 1953, Soble gave an individual "a piece of paper with writing thereon." On July 24, 1953, an alleged Russian fellow-conspirator in Vienna received a "piece of paper with writing thereon."
- On Oct. 11, 1954, Soble met "an individual" at New York's Barbizon Plaza Hotel.
- On Aug. 15, 1956, he delivered to "an individual" two letters, one 26 pages long, the other five pages "for delivery to representatives" of the Soviet Union.

NO DETAILS: There were no details given concerning the defense data allegedly sought by the three. The meetings allegedly were held in plush cafes in Europe and the U. S., although it was said the defendants' income was less than a "good automobile mechanic's." The details would have to await the trial. The three were to be arraigned in New York Feb. 11 when they would plead guilty or innocent to each count of the indictment. The trial was expected to start six to eight weeks later. Prominent criminal lawyer George Wolf has been retained by the Sobles. The court appointed Harold Frankel to defend Albam.

If found guilty on the first count, which charges conspiracy to transmit the data, the sentence could be the electric chair, though government attorneys last week said they had no "present intention" to demand the death penalty. The other counts charge a conspiracy to obtain the data, to act as Soviet agents without notifying the State Dept. or registering with the Attorney General.

If convicted on these counts Soble could get 30 years and a $35,000 fine; Mrs. Soble, 15 years and $20,000; Albam, 20 years and $30,000.

The indictment also named 10 Russians as co-conspirators, none now in the U. S. The most prominent of these is Vassili Zubilin, once a second secretary in the Soviet Embassy. He was first brought into the spy story by Igor Gouzenko, a former Soviet code clerk in Ottawa, who was a featured witness on spies before U. S. congressional committees.

MORE "IMMUNITY": The Senate Internal Security subcommittee got into the act in another "spy" hunt. The investigators said they would shortly recall to the stand Dr. Harold Glasser, former Treasury Dept. director of monetary research, named as a "master-spy" by Whittaker Chambers. In 1953 Glasser invoked the Fifth Amendment before the subcommittee. Now the investigators plan to offer him "immunity" if he testifies about "spies" in the govrenment. Under the "immunity act" he could be cited for contempt for then refusing to testify. They also threatened the "immunity treatment" for three others who took the Fifth at Hawaii hearings: radio broadcaster Robert McElrath, sports writer Wilfred Oka and lawyer Myer Simonds.

Via Nuove, Rome

...he Spy

Definition

Inflation: A state of affairs where you never had it so good or parted with it so fast.

—Yonkers **Herald-Statesman**

Powell case

(Continued from Page 1)

Wirin said the defendants were "being hit while being held—the State Dept. holds while the Justice Dept. hits."

Asst. U.S. Atty. Robert Schnacke, opposing the demand, argued that if Wirin's passport were validated it would be a form of recognition of the present Chinese government. He called the defense demand "a clear-cut attempt to force a premature and undesirable recognition of Red China by the U.S."

Judge Goodman called for a "factual showing" of U.S.-China relations. On Feb. 1 Schnacke submitted what the San Francisco **Chronicle** called a "quasi-White Paper," prepared with the assistance of William J. Sebald, Deputy Asst. Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs. The document said it was impossible to recognize the Chinese government or to grant "ordinary diplomatic and consular protection" to U.S. travelers in China because the present regime does not serve the interests of the Chinese people; it participated in Korean "aggression" and was "largely responsible" for 100,000 U.S. casualties; it has "rejected the competence and authority of the UN" and called it "a tool of aggression"; it refuses to release U.S. citizens jailed there.

ACLU ACTIVE: Defense attorneys have maintained that without the depositions from China the trial cannot be fair. Wirin told Judge Goodman: "A government has a choice—to prosecute fairly or not at all."

The American Civil Liberties Union has called the prosecution "a serious threat to fundamental liberties, particularly freedom of the press and fair trial." In a statement issued last month the ACLU warned: "Editors cannot be expected to publish anything which differs from the official view, if they can do so only by risking 20 years imprisonment. . ."

The San Francisco **News** (2/1) said the case might have to be dismissed if the passport question is not hurdled. On Feb. 2 Judge Goodman suspended the hearings to allow attorneys for both sides to submit briefs.

Powell-Schuman meeting

Lawrence Speiser, ACLU staff counsel, will speak on the Powell-Schuman case at a meeting Friday evening, Feb. 15, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Coolidge, 1 Buckeye Way, Kentfield, Marin County, Calif.

WHAT DULLES DOESN'T WANT TO KNOW

Freedom on the march in the Middle East

By Kumar Goshal

THE House of Representatives on Jan. 30 approved by a vote of 335-61 President Eisenhower's Middle East policy. A few Senate Democrats continued heckling Secy. of State Dulles who had formulated the policy but the President loyally backed him up. Dulles, he said, had "acquired a wisdom and knowledge that I think is possessed by no man—no other man in the world."

To the Afro-Asians, however, the Dulles brand of unique wisdom seemed to bear a disturbing resemblance to familiar British policy in the Middle East. They felt that this policy, like Britain's, will ultimately fail, meanwhile aggravating present conflicts.

London controlled the Middle East and its liquid gold by a judicious mixture of bribery, political intrigue, military aid to feudal governments sufficient to crush internal rebellions but not enough to threaten British supremacy, and strategically placed British forces ready for action in an emergency.

STOP THE CLOCK: Similarly, the Eisenhower doctrine proposes to buy the allegiance of the Middle East governments and to extend limited military aid to them. It also asks for Congressional authority to intervene with American forces to keep the governments in line, under the pretext of saving them from "Communist aggression." Behind these maneuvers the Afro-Asians saw a U.S. attempt to make time stand still in the Middle East to preserve American oil investments.

This policy is bound to fail. The price of allegiance has gone up steeply since the sun began to set on the British Empire, as Saudi Arabia's king and Iraq's prince will undoubtedly tell the President during their visits to Washington. The Pentagon may count on airpower alone to control the Middle East; this was evidently the implication of the recent nonstop, around-the-world flight of a U.S. jet plane, dropping imaginary H-bombs on the way. Nevertheless, as British experience has shown, U.S. policy will require larger ground forces on the scene.

BENGAL LANCERS OBSOLETE: The N.Y. **Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin wrote (1/23) after a recent tour of the Middle East that if the President's "policy is to have much meaning, U.S. strength [with] a stronger Marine force . . . in the area must be increased." Questioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secy. Dulles denied any plans "at present" to station U.S. ground forces in the Middle East, but admitted the possibility.

Popular nationalist independence movements with varying emphasis on a socialist orientation, are growing stronger every day in Asia and Africa. Arab freedom fighters no longer rush at their enemies blindly, with scimitars flashing, to be mowed down by machine guns, as they did in the days of British rule. They have learned guerrilla warfare, though they may still be armed with an odd assortment of firepower.

NEW ARABY: In Syria and Jordan, for example, the socialist Al Baath Al-Arabi

THEY'RE ALL COMING UNDER THE SAME UMBRELLA
India's Prime Minister Nehru and Syria's President al-Kuwatly in New Delhi

'Ishtarki Party is looked upon as the vanguard of a united Arab socialist movement. The Syrian and Jordanian Foreign Ministers are members of the Baath. Trade unions, organized after oil extraction began, are gaining in strength despite violent attempts to suppress them.

Last summer the Saudi Arabian government brutally crushed a political demonstration against imperialism by oil workers. During the recent invasion of Egypt, oil workers in British-controlled Kuwait, following directives of the Fedn. of Arab Trade Unions, cut pipelines and sabotaged oil wells. In Saudi Arabia oil income filtering down has developed "a politically conscious middle class in the towns" (N.Y. **Times**, 1/31).

IRAQ CRACK-DOWN: According to the GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage, since last October widespread student demonstrations in pro-Western Iraq have been brutally suppressed by one of the "free world's" most ruthless foreign-dominated dictatorships.

The original demonstration was a strike in which all Baghdad college and school students joined, and which soon developed into a bloody fight with the police. Later the whole city was in turmoil.

A wave of arrests of prominent Iraqis then began with the jailing of 60 members of the Medical and Science College staffs, who had petitioned the King against the government's actions. Jails overflowed as, according to one source, 3,000 were arrested. Among these were the president of the Iraqi bar, three members of the Nati. Congress Party's preparatory committee, the president of Baghdad's Chamber of Commerce, an MP and several religious leaders who had criticized the government in their mosques. Heavy fines and jail sentences of one to three years were meted out to many of those arrested. All of them, together with the students, had demanded the Nuri es-Said government should resign and Iraq quit the Baghdad Pact.

"DECISIVE BATTLE": Disturbances spread to other cities, including the "holy city" of Najaf. In the oil city of Mosul, the people occupied all police stations until ousted by the army. Some officers and soldiers reportedly joined the demonstrators. In the trials that followed, two demonstrators were sentenced to death by hanging and 10 others to 15 years' imprisonment. A distinguished defense lawyer, Dr. Jabir Umar, said: "The revolt is not a passing one. It is a decisive battle which needs all the help from all over the world."

Other reports reaching London spoke of unrest in Iraqi army units stationed in Jordan. A Cairo report said that the commander of the Habbaniyah base, where Britain's Royal Air Force is stationed, had been arrested after protesting use of the base and hospitals by British forces during the attack on Egypt. Another report said that peasants in the Hilla (Middle Euphrates) area had removed more than half a mile of the Baghdad-Basra railway. Belfrage reported from London: "To most newspapers here, nothing newsworthy was happening in Iraq."

It seemed logical for the Iraqi prince to hotfoot it to Washington.

WAR IN ADEN: The war against Britain on the Yemen-Aden border, which the press calls mere skirmishing, "is literally a dead-serious business" (N. Y. **Post**, 1/29). The approximately 1,500,000 Arabs in Britain's Aden Colony and Protectorate live in unspeakable poverty and squalor. Last March and April there were widespread strikes in the Colony.

Leading the Arabs of Aden are the United Nationalist Front and the South Arabian League who aim at "breaking all ties with Britain and the formation of a 'Union of the Greater South', meaning South Arabia" (**Manchester Guardian Weekly**, 7/5/56). Leaders of these two organizations, according to the London **Economist** (8/4/46), "are republicans and progressives, who want to see the feudal potentates of the Middle East overthrown to a man and replaced by a series of administrations akin to . . . the Egyptian government."

Yemen has accused Britain of border raids; the British charge Yemen with attacking Aden. London, however, has admitted (N.Y. **Times**, 1/22) that the fighting against the British is being led primarily by "several notorious protectorate rebels" who have taken sanctuary across the Yemeni border. N.Y. **Post** correspondent William Richardson reported (1/29) from that border that the British have "plainly violated the frontier on several occasions." The Arab fighters were quickly learning guerrilla tactics as in Algeria. Richardson said they were armed with "every type of rifle from ancient Mausers to modern American M-1s obtained from Saudi Arabia and even a Colt machine gun made in 1919 in Hartford, Conn." He found no Soviet arms.

THE ARAB CAUSE: The ferment in the Arab world is not the result of "Moscow propaganda" nor a prelude to "Communist aggression." Even "pro-American" envoys in Moscow, representing "either non-Communist or anti-Communist" countries, William J. Jorden reported (N.Y. **Times**, 1/17), consider the theory of imminent Soviet aggression against the Middle East "fallacious." Corrupt politicians and feudal rulers clinging to their privileges, the London **New Statesman and Nation** said (1/12), "do not alter the fact that Arab nationalism is a sincere and genuine aspiration which will prevail whether we like it or not."

President Eisenhower said in his inaugural address: "From the deserts of N. Africa to the islands of the S. Pacific one-third of all mankind has entered upon an historic struggle for . . . freedom from grinding poverty." Nevertheless, his Middle East policy seems to Afro-Asians the policy of a busybody, not of a statesman. When Secy. Dulles tried to sell this policy to Congress in terms of high moral principles, one sardonic Senator privately referred to him as a "card-carrying Christian" (Doris Fleeson, N.Y. **Post**, 1/15).

In their joint statement on Jan. 21 Indian Premier Nehru and Syrian President al-Kuwatly expressed Asian-African sentiment when they said that Middle East problems can be solved only "if these countries are able, in complete freedom and without domination by any foreign power, to develop in accordance with their genius and tradition . . . The UN, with its recent increased authority, can assist in this process."

Beyond the brink

THE RANKS of the Asia specialists in the U.S. foreign service, already sharply depleted by the witch-hunt, have lost another honest man. On Jan. 27 in Tokyo, Charles Edmundson, a former newspaper man and a U.S. information official since 1949 stationed mostly in Asia, handed correspondents a four-page critique of the Eisenhower Doctrine and U.S. policy in Asia.

Edmundson charged that hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. aid to underdeveloped countries is "wasted by being channeled through speculators, profiteers, grafters and politicians." He criticised Washington's "reckless so-called investigations" of government employees and "planting of atomic bases . . . under the noses of other nations." He called the Eisenhower Doctrine "a blank check for one-man rule [which] may lead us beyond the brink into atomic war." If his "exercise of free speech is deemed a breach of discipline," Edmundson said, he was prepared to resign. When his resignation was accepted the next day, Edmundson declared he planned to return to Washington and to say "with more force" what he had said in Tokyo.

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK, 1957

Will the great Gandhi live again?

By W.E.B. DuBois

THE GREATEST PHILOSOPHER of our era pointed out the inherent contradictions in many of our universal beliefs; and he sought eventual reconciliation of these paradoxes. We realize this today. Our newly inaugurated President asks the largest expenditure for war in human history made by a nation, and proclaims this as a step toward peace! We have larger endowments devoted to peace activity than any other nation on earth, and less activity for abolishing war.

As I look back on my own attitude toward war during the last 70 years, I see repeated contradiction. In my youth, nourished as I was on fairy tales, including some called History, I quite naturally regarded war as a necessary step toward progress. I believed that if my people ever gained freedom and equality, it would be by killing white people.

THEN, AS A YOUNG MAN in the great afflatus of the late nineteenth century, I came to believe in peace. No more war. I signed the current pledge never to take part in war. Yet during the First World War, "the war to stop war," I was swept into the national maelstrom

After the depression I sensed recurring contradictions. I saw Gandhi's non-violence gain freedom for India, only to be followed by violence in all the world; I realized that the hundred years of peace from Waterloo to 1914 was not peace at all, but war of Europe on Africa and Asia, with troubled peace only between the colonial conquerors. I saw Britain, France, and America trying to continue to force the world to serve them by using their monopoly of land, technique, and machinery, backed by gunpowder, and then threatening atomic power

THEN MONTGOMERY in Alabama tried to show the world the synthesis of this antithesis. And not the white Montgomery of the Slave Power; not even the black Montgomery of the Negro professional men, merchants, and teachers; but the black workers: the scrubbers and cleaners; the porters and seamstresses. They turned to a struggle not for great principles and noble truths, but just asked to be let alone after a tiring day's work; to be free of petty insult after hard and humble toil. These folk, led by a man who had read Hegel, knew of Karl Marx, and had followed Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, preached: "Not by Might, nor by Power, but by My Spirit," saith the Lord. Did this doctrine and practice of non-violence bring solution of the race problem in Alabama? It did not. Black workers, many it not all, are still walking to work, and it is possible any day that their leader will be killed by hoodlums perfectly well known to the white police and the city administration, egged on by white councils of war, while most white people of the city say nothing and do nothing.

ALL OVER THE LOWER SOUTH this situation prevails. Despite law, in the face of drooling religion and unctuous prayer, while the nation dances and yells and prepares to fight for peace and freedom, there is race war, jails full of the innocent, and ten times more money spent for mass murder than for education of children. Where are we, then, and whither are we going? What is the synthesis of this paradox of eternal and world-wide war and the coming of the Prince of Peace?

It lies, I think, not in the method but in the people concerned. Among normal human beings, with the education customary today in most civilized nations, non-violence is the answer to the temptation to force. When threat is met by fist; when blow follows blow, violence becomes customary. But no normal human being of trained intelligence is going to fight the man who will not fight back. In such cases, peace begins and grows just because it is. But suppose they are wild beasts or wild men? To yield to the rush of the tiger is death, nothing less. The wildness of beasts is nature; but the wildness of men is neglect and, often, our personal neglect. This is the reason beneath our present paradox of peace and war.

FOR NOW near a century this nation has trained the South in lies, hate, and murder. We are emphasizing today that when Robert E. Lee swore to serve the nation and then broke his word to serve his clan, his social class, and his private property—that this made him a hero; that although he did not believe in human slavery, he fought four long years, with consummate skill, over thousands of dead bodies, to make it legal for the South to continue to hold four million black folk as chattel bondsmen—that this makes him a great American and candidate for the Hall of Fame.

We have for 80 years as a nation widely refused to regard the killing of a Negro in the South as murder, or the violation of a black girl as rape. We have let white folk steal millions of black folks' hard-earned wages, and openly defended this as

(Continued on Page 7)

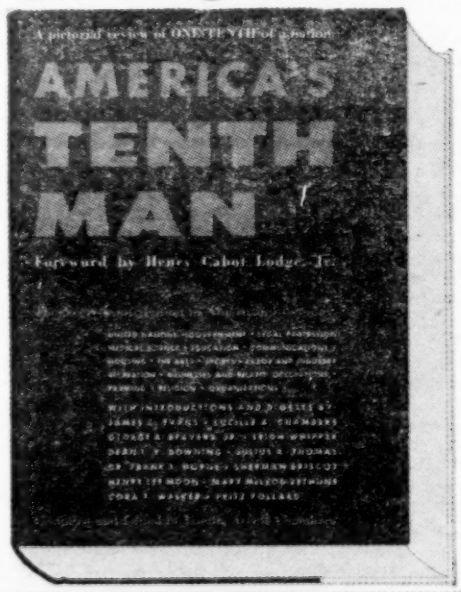
THE BRIGHTER SIDE OF A DARK PICTURE

Some Negroes get nearer to first-class citizenship

A PICTURE BOOK for the general reader on the American Negro today, especially one with 1,000 contemporary photographs, is unusual enough to be worthwhile even when the selections, lay-outs and editorial judgments are not as good as they might have been. The **Tenth Man's** editor and compiler frankly set out to emphasize the "positive aspects" and omits the hardships and dangers that continually threaten one out of ten of our fellow citizens.

There are sections on Negroes in education, the sciences, the various arts, industry, labor and other organizations, with a cordial foreword by UN delegate Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, A Pictorial Review of the Negro Contribution to American Life Today, edited and compiled by Lucille A. Chambers. Twayne Pubs., N.Y. $7.50.



EDUCATION: Negroes teach a variety of subjects in integrated colleges.

THE ARTS: There have been break-throughs against racial stereotyping in acting.

FARMING: Negro scientists and farmers produce more cotton, cattle and corn.

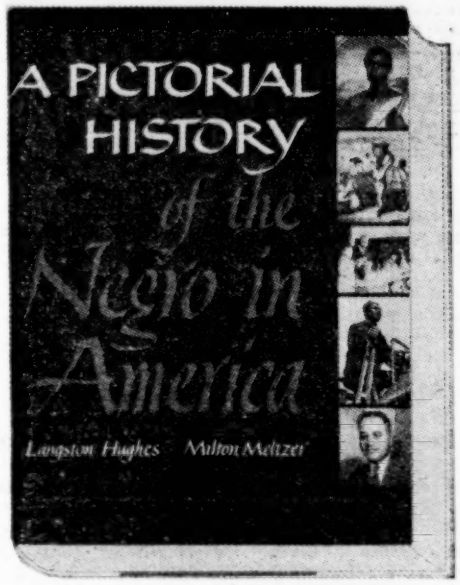
A COMPREHENSIVE PICTURE HISTORY

Drama of the Negro's long struggle toward freedom

CORRECTLY and modestly entitled **A Pictorial History of the Negro in America,** this is a book for Everyman and for every school and library. It is the picture story of the Negro in America from the earliest slave ships through the long and dramatic struggle for freedom up to the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court.

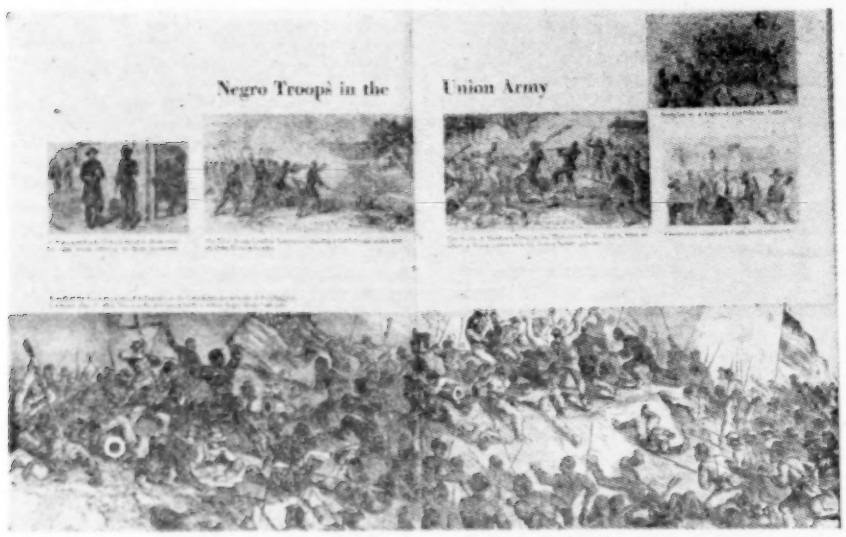
The writing is as good as you would expect from this gifted author-compiler team. The thousand or more pictures, from woodcuts, paintings, old broadsides, cartoons and photographs, are well chosen, the lay-outs varied and attractive.

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, Crown Pubs., N.Y. $5.95.



"A Piece of Property or a Man"
THE NORTH STAR
THE LATIMER JOURNAL AND NORTH STAR
THE LATIMER
GREAT MASSACHUSETTS PETTITION.

The North star guided such runaways as Frederick Douglass, George Latimer.



186,000 Negroes were in the Union Army, over half from border and southern states.

Jim Crow may be sick but he isn't dead. He still segregates laundries, parks and privies.

W. E. B. DuBois

(Continued from Page 6)

natural for a "superior" race. As a result of this, we have today in the South millions of persons who are pathological cases. They cannot be reasoned with in matters of race. They are not normal and cannot be treated as normal. They are ignorant and their schools are poor because they cannot afford a double school system and would rather themselves remain ignorant than let Negroes learn.

REMEDY for this abnormal situation would be education for all children and education all together, so as to let them grow up knowing each other as human. Precisely this path these abnormal regions refuse to follow. Here, then, is no possible synthesis. So long as a people insult, murders and hates by hereditary teaching, non-violence can bring no peace. It will bring migration until that fails, and then attempts at bloody revenge. It will spread war and murder. Can we then by effort make the average white person in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana normal, intelligent human beings?

If we can, we solve our antithesis; great Gandhi lives again. If we cannot civilize the South, or will not even try, we continue in contradiction and riddle.

Some books of interest

Following are several recent books which will help provide a deeper understanding of Negro history—in political, social and personal terms.

My Lord, What a Morning, an autobiography by Marian Anderson (assisted by N.Y. **Times** music critic Howard Taubman). Written with insight of the singer herself and of situations which contributed to her growth. N.Y. Viking Press, 1956. viii plus 312 pp. $5.

Africa's Challenge to America, by Chester Bowles, a frank discussion of problems which must be solved if Western governments with African interests want to forestall calamities. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Calif. Press, 1956. xi plus 134 pp. $2.75.

The Negro in American Culture, by Margaret Just Butcher, a successful attempt—based on material collected by the late Dr. Alain Locke—"to trace in historical sequence, but in topical fashion, both the folk and formal contributions of the American Negro," N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. xiii plus 294 plus xi pp. $4.50.

Negroes on the March: A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle, by Daniel Guerin; translated and edited by Duncan Ferguson. M. Guerin feels, as a Marxist, that the chief ills of the American people arise from struggles engendered by U.S. industrial and banking monopolies. U.S. distributor: George L. Weissman, 325 E. 17 St., N.Y. 3, N.Y., 1956. 192 pp. $1.50.

Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family, by Pauli Murray. Spans a century in the genealogy of the N. Carolina Smiths and the Delaware Fitzgeralds, ending with the death of Miss Murray's Negro grandfather; a vivid account of what it means to be a Negro of mixed black and white ancestry. N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1956. 276 pp. $3.50.

The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South, by Kenneth M. Stampp. One of the best available books on chattel servitude as a socio-historical phenomenon in the U.S. N.Y.: William Sloane Associates, 1956. 435 pp. $6.

Africa and the Western World. A special issue of THE ANNALS prepared by students on African affairs. An excellent addition to the literature on a part of the world long obscured by self-serving reports. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1956. vii plus 181 pp. $2

Mr. Seward for the Defense. Earl Conrad's suspenseful story of William H. Seward's defense of an unschooled, simple Negro man accused of murder in Auburn N.Y., in 1846. N.Y.: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1956. 306 pp. $3.95.

Frederick Douglass on July 4, 1852

Among the most timely comments on the American passion for freedom anywhere but at home is the following excerpt from a speech delivered 105 years ago by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, N.Y.

YOU BOAST OF YOUR LOVE of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the twin political powers of the nation (as embodied in the two political parties) is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three million of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crown-headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourselves on your democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina.

You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill. You glory in your refinement and education, yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation—a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty.

You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen, and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against the oppressor; but in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make these wrongs the subject of public discorse!

WHEN OIL, COAL AND GAS GIVE OUT . . .

Non-depletable sources of power

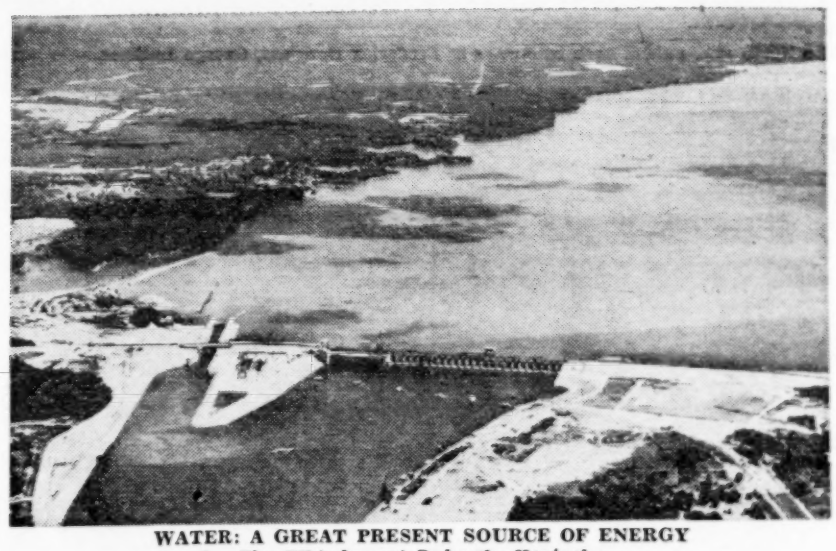
By Reuben W. Borough
(Second of two articles)

LOS ANGELES

THE DEPLETABLES, oil, coal and gas, will not be available as major power supplies by the end of the century, according to authoritative scientific opinion.

Atomic energy—a longer-life depletable—might take their place but its availability in the form now most common (fission, or splitting, of the uranium atom) is conditional upon answers to important scientific, economic and social questions. Among the first of these is its industrial and commercial feasibility—the extent of the raw material supply and the cost of transforming that supply into the finished product: energy for delivery at the switchboard.

As to the extent of the supply there are no absolute commitments from any reliable economic or scientific source. The same is true as to the probable life of the supply. There are a "few areas" in Utah and Nevada which contain 70 per cent of the nation's known uranium reserves (**U. S. News and World Report**, April 6, 1956) and there is a "hope of additional supplies" in Washington, Nevada, Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Idaho, and Montana. The balloon of popular science super-propaganda is punctured by this magazine's cautious observation: "Some Atomic Energy Commission studies have forecast that even by the year 2000, nuclear energy may be supplying less than a third of the electrical power then required in the United States."



WATER: A GREAT PRESENT SOURCE OF ENERGY
The TVA dam at Paducah, Kentucky

THE DANGERS: "Visible supplies of uranium 235," says Dr. George R. Harrison, Dean of Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "are only enough to add one-sixth to the earth's fuel supplies." And the dean adds this suggestive finding: "Mankind generally uses all the energy sources that are available."

As to capital and operation costs, there are as yet no unconditional predictions that the sum total of these (from uranium raw materials to the facilities of the federal government for processing and thence to nuclear reactor plants in production) can be brought anywhere near the acceptable figure of less than five mills per kilowatt hour established by publicly-owned hydro plants. (TVA sells at 4.29 mills per kilowatt hour, average, and Bonneville Power Administration at 2.34 mills, average, to distributing agencies and industrial consumers.)

Moreover, if nuclear energy, via the uranium atom, could tomorrow successfully compete with hydro and its steam plant supports, no "Go" signal for its use should be given until the social question involved is satisfactorily answered. The human risks must first be banished. These are tersely stated in an exhibit from the Paris National Museum of Natural History shown in Cambridge, England:

"The uncontrolled utilization of ionic energy and the multiplication of atomic and thermonuclear experiments constitute a threat to flora and fauna and to man himself.

"Danger may arise from:

"Experimental atomic explosions.

"Radio-active dust and waste ejected by the chimneys of atomic factories.

"Water used in atomic factories and subsequently returned to rivers or poured into the sea.

"Immersion at the bottom of the sea of containers holding atomic waste."

OTHER SOURCES: With this new and terrible pollution of earth, sea and sky facing humanity, the decision as to when, how and where atomic energy is to be developed and employed must be left in the hands, not of profiteering special interests, but of carefully selected and socially responsible scientists. Meanwhile, society should be on the move for other power, launching, in defense of the economy and for the promotion of the general welfare, an organized exploration of the non-depletable and safe power sources. What do these sources include?

The rapidly expanding current literature in addition to past records on this subject point with certainty to inquiry into the following:

- The feasibility of atomic power from hydrogen fusion (atom "welding" as distinguished from atom "splitting").
- Expansion of hydro-electricity at sharply increased tempo.
- Direct energy from the sun's rays—translated immediately into electricity by absorption, as through the photoelectric cell developed by the Bell Telephone Laboratories; or concentrated by mirrors for production of steam, to be used in turn by turbines for the generation of electricity; or converted by several other methods, at least remotely promising, now under laboratory examination.
- The moon-made tides of earth. And, not to be overlooked: the winds.

FUEL FROM WATER: As to hydrogen fusion, Philip Morrison (**Monthly Review**, Dec., 1956) notes that it is this source which "feeds the great five-billion-year-old furnace which is the sun" and continues: "It is fusion which promises to make energy for economic purposes—heat, power, transport, processing—as free from raw material limitations as the sunlight itself."

The most promising of the materials for fusion, he finds, is "the uncommon nucleus of hydrogen, the so-called heavy hydrogen." It is found in only minute proportion in natural water but because of the vastness of the earth's water supply, both fresh and salt, this heavy hydrogen constitutes "a source of fuel richer in energy, gallon for gallon, by three hundred times than the black Arabian crude oil." And the water is not consumed—"all but a spoonful of every barrel would be returned to the source."

While the supply here is "inexhaustible in human terms" and its cost "all but zero," an economic conversion of that supply, in view of the capital investment in the necessary complex installations, may not yet be assumed. There seem to be no appreciable material wastes, detrimental or otherwise.

THE CHEAPEST: In the matter of expanding its hydro-electric energy, the nation, due largely to power trust sabotage, has been notoriously lax. Its potential is but one-fifth developed, yet it is the cheapest of all energy forms. Born of the drifting mists and clouds of the ageless hydrologic cycle, it does not deplete natural wealth but, on the contrary, helps build it. With its multi-purpose dams, it brings not only power for the factory, light and heat for office and home, but flood control, irrigation, stream regulation and navigation, recreation, and the creation of new and revolutionary regional frontiers.

On the basis of Federal Power Commission estimates, if the full annual potential of hydro (378.5 billion kilowatt hours undeveloped plus 112.5 billion kilowatt hours developed) had been realized in 1954, it would have a little more than met the total requirement of that year. While it is true that the power needs of the economy are growing by leaps and bounds (1980 requirements will be three and a half times the requirements of 1954) and therefore hydro would have to be increasingly supplemented, it should be kept in mind that hydro is a fixed supply—it does not decrease absolutely from year to year as does the energy from coal, oil, gas or even the uranium atom.

The claim upon the sun is fascinating, its significance overwhelming. While "in the immediate future," says M.I.T.'s Dr. Harrison, power from the atom will be more important than power from the sun, the latter "will become increasingly important."

THE MOON, TOO: For more than two billion years, he particularizes, the sun has been smashing at the earth with its nuclear energy at a rate, at the top atmosphere, of 7,400 horse-power an acre, which, due to absorption of radiation and other factors, reduces to 1,000 horse-power an acre on the earth's surface. If energy at this reduced rate could be "captured" for use, collectors (mirrors) on a 100-mile square in the desert could run all the industries in the United States.

For one brief historic moment the moon flared brilliantly on the power horizon when an imaginative and socially sensitive president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in the 1930's proposed the harnessing of the thundering tides of Maine's Passamaquoddy Bay. With great persuasiveness, he urged it both as a relief measure and as a sound investment in public electric power. But the dams across the bay and their turbine generator plants were never built, for an avalanche of "anti-socialist" and "anti-boondoggling" bigotry and hate descended upon the President and his board of engineers and struck the project from their hands. It nevertheless stands today as one of the important potential sources of non-depletable power, its ultimate economic feasibility never having been dismissed by competent engineers.

Carmack in Christian Science Monitor
His most promising pupil—if properly guided.

Neither can the winds and the whirling wheels of their mills against the sky be rejected at the behest of all too ready scoffers. For these, with their long and exciting international history, still have a place in the modern economy. Their electric generators may not carry heavy industrial loads but for the lighting of homes and the running of home appliances and of small machines generally they will be welcome and efficient servants outside the realm of cheap hydro.

THE PROBLEM: "For isolated districts," says the 1947 Encyclopaedia Brittanica, "windpower may be adopted for generating purposes with every assurance of reliability and economy; for communal groupings and for medium power work there are larger sets providing the same service."

For a comfortable middle-class family's annual consumption of around 7,000 kilowatt hours or more the 1947 cost, translated into present-day United States currency, would be 4.5 cents per kilowatt hour. For smaller consumption the cost goes up as high as 14 cents. Public hydro in the United States costs the average family less than three cents per kilowatt hour.

The demanding problem of today is how to set the power from these various non-depletable sources at work to the maximum. It is a problem that will not be solved by any of the "after-us-the-deluge" ruling groups that have afflicted the world in the past. It will be solved only by organized political action consistently directed toward the loving and protective care of this earth home of ours. And that means—whatever its name—a socialist movement on the march.

FLORIDA "FREE SPEECH"

Legion forces ban on Jerome Davis

Special to the GUARDIAN

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

ST. PETERSBURG'S WOMEN'S Club called off a lecture by Dr. Jerome Davis Jan. 23 when the American Legion accused him of membership in "at least 60 Communist fronts." Local ministers and others called Davis a consistent battler for liberal causes, a prominent churchman and "a sweet, gray-haired, attractive man," but the Club cancelled the engagement anyway because it did not want to be "involved in controversy."

The St. Petersburg **Times**, under the headline, "WHO'S BRAINWASHING WHOM?" commented:

"Dr. Davis' loyalty has never been disproved. His 'record' is based on alleged associations. To proclaim 'guilt' this way is outrageous, indecent and un-American.

"But let's acknowledge that he is 'controversial.' Ask yourself and the folks next door if anything he said from a lecture platform could change your opinion of our system of government.

"To believe any speaker could subvert an intelligent American audience is ridiculous, at best . . .

"Once Americans accept this type of thought control without fighting back, what we know as democracy is licked. For our way of life demands the right to speak and the right to listen—and, above all, the right to make up our own minds."

United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

nuclear weapons, and on developing U.S. "atomic support commands" in the far-flung territories of Washington's allies.

The implications for NATO began to emerge during the Washington talks of British Defense Minister Duncan Sandys. Sandys was named to his present post by Prime Minister Macmillan apparently because he advocated substantial cuts in military spending. The hopes of the new British Government to reduce such spending (currently $4.3 billion) by as much as 20%, and especially its threat to withdraw two of its four divisions from W. Germany, won Sandys an invitation to Washington. It was the first to a British official since the Suez affair.

The advertised purpose of the Sandys mission was to get the U.S. to agree to supply Britain with such "revolutionary new weapons" as missiles and so permit London to avoid the vast expenditures necessary to develop a British missile industry. Its unadvertised purpose seems to have been to secure U.S. agreement to Britain's proposed military cuts and U.S. assumption of some of its NATO and other commitments.

Some months ago the U.S. told its allies that it would supply them with the "new" weapons, which it had spent billions to develop, thus relieving them of the "necessity" of developing their own. In addition to the missiles, the "new" weapons include some employing nuclear firepower. Since the MacMahon Act prevents giving nuclear war materials to foreign countries, top level discussions have been going on to amend it.

But there are apparently two schools of thought among the U.S. military: (1) those who believe "that the Western allies will inevitably receive U.S. weapons which not only are capable of firing but actually contain nuclear warheads" (**Times**, 2/1); (2) those who believe NATO can be geared to nuclear war by "putting U.S. atomic units in Europe and stockpiling warheads for allied missiles there in peacetime" (Washington **Post**, 2/2).

In either case, the result for U.S. allies was likely to be the same: another large step in the progressive loss of independent action. As London's **New Statesman** (2/2) pointed out: "For the first time in our history we would be buying our capital military equipment from a foreign power." For Britain this would mean demotion from so-called "senior partnership" in the alliance to something not far from a satellite status.

SILENT ON AGREEMENT: U.S. officials, moreover, appeared to be firmly opposed to any British proposals to cut manpower and particularly to the proposed reduction of British troops in W. Germany. The official communique on the Sandys talks was not informative on any agreements reached. But American officials insisted that the British were coming round to the U.S. view on keeping up manpower levels in NATO and would not withdraw any divisions from Germany. Sandys declared that the question of cuts in military spending was an internal matter and did not require U.S. approval. Back in England, however, he said that cuts in military spending would not be "drastically large."

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I feel better about the international situation now that I'm properly armed."

The proposed "new look" for NATO, with its further subordination of Britain and France, was drawn at a time when their gradual political downgrading was made dramatically apparent following the Suez invasion. Now that "Britain and France, possibly all of Europe, are declining power centers," as the **NYT** noted (2/3), both aspects of the U.S. approach emphasize that Washington's policy is entering a new phase: its focus is increasingly on bringing the nations of Africa and Asia into its orbit.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE: Britain, of course, has an alternative to progressive subordination to the U.S. Walter Lippmann (1/29) indicated what it could be. Western Europe, he wrote, cannot be politically stable until the German question is resolved, and without political stability it cannot have power and influence in world affairs. What Europe needs, he said, "is not only a common market and the like [but also] a common policy for a settlement with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

Britain, he added, "could find a new field for the exercise of its political genius in the unification of Europe through a settlement with Eastern Europe." But there has been no sign that the Macmillan government envisages such an alternative, any more than it envisages reducing military expenditures by withdrawing troops from Cyprus and other colonial bases. (According to former British Minister of State Nutting, roughly half of British forces in Europe are concentrated on Cyprus fighting "terrorists.")

THE VISITORS: The new emphasis of Washington's policy has been underscored by the visits to Washington of Indonesia's Sukarno, India's Nehru, Saudi Arabia's King Saud and Iraq's Crown Prince Abdul Illah—while the British and French Prime Ministers have waited vainly for invitations. Even if invited now, they would bring up the rear of the queue. The purpose of these visits—in Washington's phraseology—has been to convince these leaders that the U.S. is not trying to replace Britain as colonial overlord; that the dangers of communism are greater than those of imperialism; that therefore they must cooperate with the U.S. in joint defense against the "communist menace."

Washington made no secret of its hope to use the Saud visit to isolate Egypt and begin the rollback of neutralism in the Middle East. From Saud, it wanted: (1) a five-year lease on the Dharhan Air base; and (2) a shift of sympathy from Egypt's Nasser to Iraq's strongly pro-West Nuri As-Said. In return, it would provide arms and military training.

However, it appeared unwilling to accept, at least without preliminary bargaining, the King's reported asking price for the Dharhan lease—$250 million in arms over the next five years. Although Washington would like to turn Saud "into an ally as reliable as Turkey," it seemed to realize that no open commitment from the King was to be expected or was necessary (Saud is here as spokesman also for Syria, Egypt and Jordan). Saud told the N.Y. **Herald Tribune that** his doubts about the Middle East Doctrine had been clarified, and that he would personally try to correct misunderstandings about it in the Arab states.

ISRAEL-ARAB CONFLICT: The longer-term outcome of Washington's gamble on Saud could not yet be seen. But Washingtone's intense interest in the Middle East was also apparent in its almost feverish behind-the-scenes activity in the Israel-Arab conflict. Here, too, Washington was attempting to put pressure on Egypt, but to do it without alienating the neutrals. UN consideration of the problem created by Israel's refusal to withdraw from Gaza and the Aqaba Gulf was held up almost a week while Western nations, including the U.S., tried to produce a resolution which would make Israel's withdrawal conditional on "guarantees."

Since a two-third majority on a clear-cut resolution to this effect could not have been obtained, the U.S. produced one so unclear that it could mean almost anything—and did. Among its co-sponsors were India and Yugoslavia. Each interpreted the resolution in a different fashion.

The resolution was approved by the Assembly, 56-0, with 22 abstentions. It called for deployment of UNEF on both sides of the armistice line and left it up to the Secretary General to negotiate with Israel and Egypt on "other matters" outlined in his recent report. Egypt was apparently willing to accept the deployment of UNEF in this fashion, but Israel was preparing to reject it. With the U.S. apparently unwilling to take a clear-cut stand demanding an unconditional Israel withdrawal, the outlook was for a continued stalemate.

Kontakt, Oslo

N. Y. RHUBARB OVER SAUD'S VISIT

Monkeyshines at City Hall

TWO DAYS BEFORE the King of Saudi Arabia arrived in the U.S., New York City's Mayor Robert Wagner and City Council President Joseph Sharkey precipitated what the N.Y. **Times** called "a minor international incident."

At a Jewish National Fund dinner in Brooklyn, Mayor Wagner said New York would not officially receive King Saud because Saudi Arabia approves slavery, bars Jewish personnel of the U.S. Air Force and prohibits Roman Catholics from saying mass. Sharkey followed by saying that only on State Dept.'s orders "we entertain half of these monkeys who come over here." Wagner also said there would be no welcome mat for Yugoslav President Tito because he is a "Communist and anti-Catholic."

CHUMP AND CHIMP: There was strong criticism of Wagner and Sharkey in the press, pointing out that receiving Saud would not mean approval of his policies. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** called Wagner's statement an "ill-judged venture into international policy." Referring to his "bombastic refusal to extend even the courtesy of a routine municipal welcome" to Saud, the N.Y. **World-Telegram** pointed out that the King was "an invited guest of the President" coming to discuss "a delicate national and international situation." Considering New York's large Jewish and Catholic vote, the Mayor's "free-swinging insults" impressed the **World-Telegram** "as a stupid bit of vote-seeking demagoguery [which] will fool no one." When newsmen reminded Wagner that he had recently received with profound gratitude decorations from dictators Batista of Cuba and Franco of Spain, he said they were allies of the U.S.

There was equally strong criticism of Sharkey, especially his use of the word "monkeys," which carried racist implications. Sharkey lamely replied that he meant to say "characters."

CAN'T GET A VISA

Mexican lawyer barred in Sobell case

DR. LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON, law professor at the University of Mexico, former diplomat and one-time Minister of Education in Mexico, was refused entry to the U.S. last week after he told U.S. Embassy officials that he planned to participate in the appeal of Morton Sobell.

Sobell, now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz as a fellow-defendant in the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, is asking a Federal Court of Appeals in New York to free him, order a new trial or at least hold a hearing on new evidence uncovered by his defense attorneys. A Federal District Court has turned down those demands. Much of the evidence concerns the seizure of Morton Sobell in Mexico which the defense holds was contrary to Mexican law and in violation of U.S.-Mexican treaty rights.

Dr. Ponton participated in filing Sobell's appeal with the District Court and was expected to be on hand for consultation and possible participation in the Appellate Court proceedings set for Feb. 4. U.S. Embassy officials in Mexico City assured him his visa would be ready in time, asked him to pick it up. When he came to the Embassy, officials there asked him specifically what he proposed to do in the U.S. Told that he was part of the Sobell defense they announced that there would be a considerable delay in granting the visa.

In court on Feb. 4, Sobell's attorney Marshall Perlin asked that the hearing be postponed and urged the U.S. Attorney's office to facilitate Dr. Ponton's entry into the country. Mrs. Morton Sobell sent telegrams to President Eisenhower, Secy. of State Dulles and Atty. Gen. Brownell asking their help in bringing Dr. Ponton to New York.

The court recessed the hearing until Feb. 6.

New world

A fifth-grade student in a New York City public school got an A for this composition. We second the teacher's judgment and here offer it as a possible platform to any political movement bold enough to accept it—except for the conclusion.

IF I HAD MY WAY I would make the world bigger. In that way each continent would be bigger, too. Each country would be a little bigger and each city or town also a little bigger. I would turn all the big apartment houses into smaller private houses that could never be harmed by any fire or flood.

I would make candy have vitamins, minerals and protein, so that all parents would let us eat it all the time. I would make money grow on trees and every family would own four trees. If a person wanted more money they would have to earn it.

I wouldn't let department stores get crowded.

The trouble is that I won't ever get my way! L. K.

FREDRIC WERTHAM'S "THE CIRCLE OF GUILT"

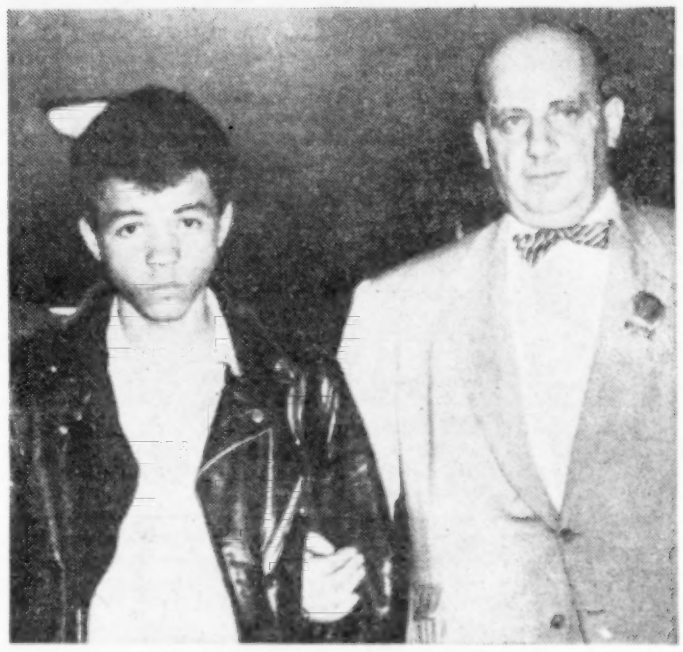
The 'hoodlum' and the 'model boy'

By Elmer Bendiner

FRANK SANTANA is 19 years old. He will be at least 42 when he is given his freedom. He is called a "model prisoner." At 17 he was called hoodlum in headlines. Sober citizens condoned a lynch spirit because on a Bronx street one evening he had cold-bloodedly shot to death 15-year old Billie Blankenship, described in headlines as a "model boy."

The "model boy" turned out to be an active member of a gang devoted to assaulting Puerto Ricans. The "hoodlum" turned out to be a frightened youngster, threatened and bullied, who carried a gun for protection. When he saw his chums attacked he used it according to the code of Superman whom he venerated.

Frank Santana never had his day in court. He was tried and convicted in the press long before his case came up on the calendar. By then the District Attorney said the facts would not sustain a conviction of first degree murder. Santana pleaded guilty to a charge of second-degree murder and was sentenced to 25 years to life. The myth of "hoodlum vs. model boy" (sometimes euphemisms for Puerto Rican vs. American) was punctured. Fern Marja of the N.Y. Post said: "New York had manufactured a fantasy."



FRANK SANTANA WITH POLICEMAN
This was on the day of his arrest

STICK-BALL TEAM: Early in the case Santana's lawyers called in Dr. Fredric Wertham, the psychiatrist who, in scores of magazine articles and a number of books, has sought to show how our society makes our delinquents, juvenile and otherwise. Because the case never came to trial Dr. Wertham could not put his thoughts on Frank Santana before a judge and jury. But in his book, **The Circle of Guilt,*** he has put his findings, as he says, before "a larger jury."

Dr. Wertham visited Santana in prison, tested him and sought to understand him. He found this boy addicted to solitary all-day movie binges, to comic books of the "creep" school which feeds ghoulish fantasies of sex and death. He found the "Navahos," which Santana had helped found and which the papers had portrayed as a murderous gang, to have been originally a stick-ball team. It was composed mainly of Puerto Rican boys because they were excluded from other teams.

In the atmosphere of war and bigotry that hung over the Bronx tenements where Santana lived, it was inevitable that the Navahos would soon become a league for mutual protection of the Puerto Rican boys. Dr. Wertham talked with non-Puerto Rican neighbors of the Santanas who had only kind words to say of the boy but who would not say them publicly, for the battle lines in the Bronx are hard and the laws of hate impose what Dr. Wertham could call only "terror."

COMPLEXITIES: Dr. Wertham warns alternately of over-simplifying and over-complicating the problem of juvenile crime. He writes: "Social pressures in the widest sense can explain any kind of juvenile delinquency. But it is a kind of vulgarized Marxism to draw a too direct and too mechanical line between social conditions and the individual. No social phenomenon can be translated directly into psychological categories."

He found that Frank was left fatherless at the age of four, that the man who succeeded his father in a common-law marriage with his mother deserted them, that his younger brother grew to be taller and stronger than Frank, leaving him with the responsibility of the oldest male but overly-sensitive about his small stature. Then Dr. Wertham warns: "But again it would be a vulgarized kind of Freudism to see only the purely subjective individual side."

He describes the complexities that lie behind any act of violence but is bitterly indignant about "authorities" on juvenile delinquency who evade action against any single factor in the environment by a despairing enumeration of complexities.

EVER-PRESENT DANGER: Dr. Wertham's book sums up his favorite crusades: against comic books, the high-sounding, befogging terminology of experts, the callous red tape of social workers and educators, guilty not of "the neglect of routine but the routine of neglect."

Frank Santana, himself, is so interesting that it seems almost unfortunate that Dr. Wertham ranges so far from him in much of this book. His section on Puerto Rico and the fantasy in which he envisions a children's strike against the pernicious influences of society and the way that strike would threaten our way of life are interesting fragments, but perhaps the point could have been better made in a more profound study of this boy we have condemned.

In any case, Dr. Wertham has again warned of the deadly fallout of blood and tragedy that seeps down night and day from the world we make for our children.

It would be rare and remarkable if educators took general alarm before another shot in a Bronx street makes headlines and claims two new victims: the murdered and the murderer.

* THE CIRCLE OF GUILT *by Dr. Fredric Wertham, Rinehart, 211 pp., $3.*

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Detroit, Mich.

Detroit Labor Forum presents **CORLISS LAMONT**, "Has the Tide Turned for Civil Liberties?" Fri., Feb. 15, at 8 p.m. UAW Local 157 Hall, 14 & McGraw. Cont. 50c.

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LABOR ACTION FORUMS, Thursdays, 8:30 p.m. Thurs., Feb. 7: Owen Legrand, recently back from France, on "FRENCH POLITICS TODAY." Thurs., Feb. 14: H. W. Benson, author of "Communist Party at the Crossroads," will analyze "COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION." At 114 W. 14 St. Adm. free.

HEAR AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for **THE MILITANT**, SUNDAY, FEB. 17, 8 PM, Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 8th "Can the Politics of 'co-existence' stop war?"

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The scalpel of truth

THEODORE ROOSEVELT MASON HOWARD, M.D., has returned to his profession and the relative anonymity it affords. Emmett Louis Till's lynching in August, 1955, near Money, Miss., was the explosion that catapulted the surgeon of all-Negro Mound Bayou into temporary national leadership of his people's resistance to racism.

His reputation until then rested chiefly on his presidency of Mississippi's Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the state's NAACP, and on his work as chief surgeon of Friendship Clinic. He founded it in 1948 as official center for the United Order of Friendship's 18,000 members (of which he was also founder). His associates at the new Howard Medical Center in Chicago and acquaintances back in Mound Bayou may disagree on much concerning Dr. Howard; they will probably agree, however, that the spotlight which illuminated him for one historical moment revealed a man of heroic stature.

CONFESSED KIDNAPPERS Roy W. Bryant and J. W. Milam were acquitted of Till's murder on Sept. 23, 1955. Dr. Howard's home had been headquarters for Negro reporters covering the trial and he had personally turned up witnesses for the prosecution. Two days after the suspects' acquittal Dr. Howard told a cheering NAACP rally in Baltimore that the "freest" Negro outside Mississippi was in bondage so long as the lowliest Mississippi laborer was oppressed.

The surgeon sent his first "urgent request" for an audience with Atty. Gen. Brownell, Vice President Nixon and Presidential assistant Sherman Adams in October, 1955. He got no answer. He wired Brownell early in December that "another defenseless Negro . . . Gus Courts, was shot Friday, Nov. 25." Court's crime: a desire to vote. Was the Attorney General going "to sit there and see us all killed one by one" while the government did nothing?

THE GOVERNMENT still had done nothing when Dr. Howard told an Emancipation Proclamation rally in Harlem on Jan. 2, 1956, that "you here in New York are not safe as long as they can get away with lynching a 14-year-old boy in Mississippi." Nor was he himself safe, he admitted in an interview with the GUARDIAN. "No day passes," he said, "when Mrs. Howard and I do not get a threat of death." He finally sent his wife and their two small sons to relatives in California. "I can be killed as easily as was the Rev. George W. Lee and other Negro leaders who have given their lives in this struggle for democracy," he explained to the N.Y. **Post**. Rev. Lee had been urging Negroes to register for voting.

FBI director Hoover wrote to Dr. Howard late in January, 1956, expressing outrage not at Mississippi's killers but at the surgeon's "intemperate and baseless charges" that the FBI "with all its knowledge, with all its power, can never work out who the killer is when a Negro in the South is the victim."

The surgeon from Mound Bayou last year was elected president of the (Negro) Natl. Medical Assn. He established residence in the city of Emmett Till's birth and burial; joined Chicago's medical fraternity. With some $200,000 from the sale of a part of his Mississippi properties, he set up and equipped the Howard Medical Clinic in the Doctors Pharmacy Bldg., 63rd and S. Rhodes Sts. It is a counterpart of his old Friendship Clinic, which still carries on in Mound Bayou.

The Chicago **Defender** honored him with its Award of Meritorious Service. The Ida Mae Scott, which, with the Provident, was one of two Negro hospitals last year receiving a $10,000 Ford Foundation grant for medical research and expansion of facilities, added him to its staff.

—**Eugene Gordon**

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